

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01702 272214Z

21

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 DODE-00 CU-02 EB-07 AF-06 NEA-09 /107 W

----- 013908

R 271705Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 871

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5180

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1702

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT:CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: USNATO 1573

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT OUTLINE ON CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC  
OPINION PREPARED BY INTERNATIONAL STAFF. SPC DISCUSSED  
DRAFT FOR FIRST TIME AT ITS MARCH 27 MEETING (SEPTTEL). IN  
CIRCULATING DRAFT, IS NOTED THAT IT WAS TO SERVE" ...PRINCIPALLY  
TO ASSIST DELEGATIONS BY BRINGING TOGETHER  
IN SOME ORDER THE MANY VALUABLE PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN  
MADE. ...".

BEGIN TEXT

THE SOVIET UNION AND HER ALLIES CAN BE EXPECTED TO  
PRESENT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AS A TURNING POINT IN  
EAST/WEST RELATIONS. IF THE CONCLUDING STATE OF THE CONFERENCE  
IS HELD AT THE LEVEL OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, THIS WILL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 01702 272214Z

CONSIDERABLY ASSIST SOVIET PROPAGANDE IN THIS RESPECT. (   
A DETAILED STUDY OF THE LIKELY SOVIET ATTITUDE IS CONTAINED IN  
THE REPORT NO ..... OF THE EXPERT WORKING GROUP ON THE  
SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE).

2. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE OUTCOME OF THE CSCE IS PRESENTED BY GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE MEDIA IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS SET OUT CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS RELEVANT TO THIS.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

3. THE FOLLOWING MIGHT BE CONSIDERED BROAD GUIDELINES:

(I) THE MAIN PROBLEM WILL BE TO COUNTER THE DANGER OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE GIVING RISE TO OVER-OPTIMISM AS TO THE RAPIDITY OF THE PROCESS OF EAST/WEST DETENTE, WHILE AVOIDING TOO NEGATIVE OR DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OUTCOME;

(II) THE PROBLEM WILL PRESENT ITSELF IN DIFFERENT WAYS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND AT DIFFERENT MOMENTS. NO ATTEMPT SHOULD THEREFORE BE MADE TO AGREE ON A SINGLE LINE OF PUBLIC PRESENTATION WITH REGARD TO THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO AVOID ANY DISCORD IN PRESENTATION AND THERE IS THEREFORE A NEED FOR AN AGREED BODY OF MATERIAL AND ARGUMENTS TO BE DRAWN ON AT WILL ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES;

(III) IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE ARE SEEN IN THEIR CORRECT PROPORTIONS IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS GENERALLY AND, IN PARTICULAR, OF OTHER CONTINUING EAST/WEST NEGOTIATIONS. THE PROCESS OF DETENTE INVOLVES MUCH MORE THAN THE CSCE ALONE;

(IV) HAVING REGARD TO (III), THE BROAD APPROACH SHOULD BE THAT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, ESPECIALLY AS A FIRST STEP IN MAJOR EAST/WEST MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY.  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 01702 272214Z

BUT IN NO SENSE IS IT A CAPSTONE OR TURNING POINT. EVEN IN THE AREA OF SUBJECTS COVERED BY THE CSCE, THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS WILL BE GREATLY DEPENDENT UPON THE MANNER IN WHICH PRACTICAL EFFECT IS GIVEN TO THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

MORE DETAILED POINTS

4. WITHIN THE GUIDELINES IN PARAGRAPH 3, THE FOLLOWING POINTS MAY NEED TO BE GIVEN SPECIAL EMPHASIS:

(I) IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE CLEAR TO THEIR PUBLICS THEIR POSITION WITH REGARD TO DETENTE

AND, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION  
REMAINS AND REQUIRES BOTH A CONTINUING ALLIANCE  
DEFENCE EFFORT AND PATIENT NEGOTIATION IN THE WHOLE  
AREA OF ARMAMENTS; BRACKET C.P. THE OTTAWA DECLARATION END BRACKET.

(II) A GOAL OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES IN THE CSCE HAS BEEN  
NOT TO TRY TO CHANGE THE EAST,BUT TO BUILD TOWARDS  
INCREASED EAST/WEST CO-OPERATION (PEACEFUL CO-OPERATION,  
RATHER THAN MERE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE). THE RESULTS OF  
THE CSCE MUST BE JUDGED BY HOW FAR THEY PROVE SUCCESS-  
FUL IN PRACTICE IN PROVIDING A FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH  
INCREASED CO-OPERATION AND FOR OVERCCOMING DIVISIONS IN  
EUROPE;

(III) IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT,AS A RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS  
IN GENEVA, HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL CO-OPERATIION HAS  
BEEN REGISTERED AS A PROPER SUBJECT FOR EAST/WEST  
NEGOTIATIONS;

(IV) THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CSCE ARE OF A POLITICAL AND  
MORAL NATURE. THEY DO NOT HAVE THE FORCE OF INTER-  
NATIONAL LAW. NO ONE PART OF THE CONCLUSIONS PRE-  
DOMINATES; THUS THE "PRINCIPLES" ARE ON THE SAME

FOOTING AS OTHER MATTERS AGREED;

(V) THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCEOF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE  
CONCUSIONS ARE IMPLEMENTED APPLIES IN ALL AREAS, WITH  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 01702 272214Z

REGARD, FOR EXAMPLE, TO THE PRINCIPLES AND CBMS, AS  
WELL AS TO THE ITEMS UNDER THE SECOND AND THIRD AGENDA  
HEADINGGS. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS ONLY REALISTIC  
NOT TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED  
IN NEGOTIATIONS IN SEVERAL AREAS, AND THE FACT THAT THE  
RESULTING TEXTS ARE NOT ALWAYS AS STAISFACTORY OR  
UNAMBIGUOUS AS COULD BE WISHED.

NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE CSCE

5. WHILE THE MAIN PROBLEM WILL BE EXCESSIVE OPTIMISM  
GENERATED Y THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE, GOVERNMENTS WILL ALSO  
NEED TO GIVE THOUGHT TO REPLYING TO CRITICISM FROM THOSE WHO  
BELIEVE THAT THE RESULTS HAVE GIVEN AWAY TOO MUCH TO THE SOVIET  
UNION AND THE EAST WITHOUT OBTAINING ENOUGHT IN RETURN.  
BRACKET THE COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO GIVE MORE ATTENTION TO THIS ASPECT,  
RAISED IN THE US STATE MENT OF 12TH MARCH. END BRACKET

PRACTICAL STEPS

6. THE MANNER AND TIMING OF THE DISSEMINATION OF  
INFORMATION WILL REQUIRE ATTENTION. SOME PREPARATORY STATEMENTS

COULD BE DESIRABLE BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PHASE.  
STATEMENTS MADE BY HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT THE  
CONCLUDING PHASE ITSELF WILL BE OF KEY IMPORTANCE. BUT THERE  
IS LIKELY ALSO TO BE A NEED FOR CAREFUL FOLLOW-UP STATEMENTS.  
MINISTERIAL AND OTHER OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WILL CERTAINLY BE  
ANALYSED AND COMMENTED BY THE MEDIA AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT  
TO TRY TO GUIDE THIS COMMENT IN THE RIGHT DIRECTIONS.

-----  
FOOTNOTE

BRACKET A SUGGESTION HAS BEE MADE FOR MORE SPECIFIC  
COMMENT ON INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS IN THE CSCE RESULTS.  
A POSSIBLE WAY OF HANDLING THIS WOULD BE TO INCLUDE  
IT, WHEN THE MATERIAL HAS BEEN MADE AVAILABLE, IN  
THE FORM OF AN ANNEX TO THE GENERAL PAPER END BRACKET.

END TEXT  
PEREZ  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 NATO 01702 272214Z

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 18 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 27 MAR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975NATO01702  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** NATO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750398/abbrzjal.tel  
**Line Count:** 187  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** USNATO 1573  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <25 APR 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <28 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION  
**TAGS:** PFOR, NATO, CSCE  
**To:** STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
GENEVA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006